

No man, not a traitor at heart, could thus deliberately calculate the Government of his country for the purpose of arousing to madness the prejudiced multitude whom he is able to mislead by his falsehoods. Mr. Pierce well knows that it is he and his party, and not the President, who are fighting against the Constitution. He well knows that the Constitution gives to Congress the war power, and the making of all laws whereby such war is regulated; and he knows, too, that all such laws, made in conformity with the Constitution, are just as binding and sacred as the Constitution itself, and are the "supreme law of the land," by the express provision of that instrument. He is now raising and counselling resistance to these laws, under the lying pretence that they are unconstitutional. He well knows that the suspension of *Habeas Corpus* is a power distinctly given in time of war or insurrection; and he knows that, in accordance with this provision, Congress did, at its last session, enact that, "during the present rebellion, the President of the United States, whenever in his judgment the public safety may require it, is authorized to suspend the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, in any case, throughout the United States, or any part thereof." And whenever and wherever the said writ shall be suspended as aforesaid, no military or other officer shall be compelled, in answer to any writ of *Habeas Corpus*, to return the body of any person or persons detained by him by authority of the President; but upon a certificate, under oath, of the officer having charge of any one so detained, that such person is detained by him as a prisoner under authority of the President, further proceedings under the writ of *Habeas Corpus* shall be suspended, by the judge or court having issued the said writ, so long as said suspension by the President shall remain in force, and said rebellion continue."

The World, in its comments on this act, at the time of its passage, said:—"With this tremendous power over the liberty of every citizen whom he may suspect, or whom he may choose to imprison without suspecting, the President is as absolute a despot as the Sultan of Turkey. All the rights of liberty are taken down; we all lie at the feet of one man, dependent on his caprice for every hour's exemption from a bastinado." Very good; and who is to blame? Who is it that has forced upon us this abridgment of our liberties? It is the World and its fellow-travelers that have made this. It is the unwise, unscrupulous, and unprincipled President who is to blame; and the whole country has to pay the penalty which these infamous Copperhead wretches have brought upon us. Why blame the President for making these arrests? He is bound to do it by his oath, which compels him to execute the laws. Why do Pierce and Seymour leave out of sight this act of Congress, and the President's duty, as if he were the usurper of dictatorial power? It is true that the power is an enormous one; it is true that it is repugnant to the normal condition of the Republic; it is true that, with it, for the time being, the Government is able to put down domestic enemies with an iron hand; and that the power which we want the Government to have, it is just the power which the founders of the Republic meant it should have in a time like this, or they would never have incorporated the provision in the Constitution. We are glad to find that Messrs. Pierce, Wood, Vallandigham, and the editors of the *World*, feel uncomfortable under the operation of this constitutional power of the nation to protect itself. Our only regret is, that we have no Andrew Jackson to teach them the full meaning of it.

Gov. Seymour is equally explicit in charging the Government with violating the Constitution by making arrests—

"I ask if it is not an evidence of weakness, defeat and discomfiture, when, in the presence of armed rebellion, the administration is compelled to hold that the very charter by which it holds its power has ceased to have a power that can protect a citizen in his rights? . . . Personal rights and personal liberties are suspended during our revolutionary crisis. You have heard the words of that Declaration of Independence, which said that men have a right to trial by jury; that the military authorities should never be exalted above the civil jurisdiction; that men should not be transported abroad for trial (tremendous applause); that they should have all the rights and privileges of English jurisprudence and English law. . . . This doctrine of the suspension of the laws, is unconstitutional, is unsound, is unjust, is treasonable!" (Tremendous applause.)

Who is it that teaches this doctrine of the suspension of the Constitution and laws? It is not the President—it is Gov. Seymour. He defies the act of Congress; he tramples it in the dust. He declares that which the Constitution makes the supreme law of the land to be no law, but to be "unjust and treasonable." Is it the prerogative of Gov. Seymour to decide on the constitutionality of the acts of Congress? Is he the Supreme Court? Hear him threaten—

"Is it not revolution which you are thus creating, when you say that our persons may be rightfully seized, our property confiscated, our homes entered? Remember this, that the bloody and treasonable and revolutionary doctrine of public necessity can be proclaimed by a mob as well as by a government." (Applause.)

It is well to keep in mind the circumstances under which the Governor of New York has thus expressed provision of the Constitution, and the law of Congress made in pursuance thereof. It was while the terrible struggle in Pennsylvania was supposed to be yet pending, and when our prospects were so dark that the Governor said he did not come before his audience as one animated by expected victory; it was while he followed the armies at Vicksburg and Port Hudson hung dubious in the scale; it was while incendiary placards in favor of the South were being scattered through the city, with simultaneous reports of an intended conspiracy to seize the New-York arsenal on the evening of the 24th; it was while the Provisional Government, and offer the dictatorship to McClellan! Had Meade experienced a defeat, there is little doubt the programme would have been carried out to the letter. Gov. Seymour takes great credit to himself for having forwarded troops to succor Pennsylvania in her distress, but he can make half an hour's speech without a single syllable of reproach or blame for the rebels or their cause. His namesake, Thomas H. Seymour, the Copperhead ex-Governor of Connecticut, followed him with a speech exonerating the South from the guilt of bringing on the war, and declaring that "we could not compel States to remain in the Union by force of arms."

And yet these men complain bitterly that they are charged with disloyalty. In the trying hour of the nation's agony, when our very existence depends on the success of our arms, they are using every effort to show that the South is right, and the North wrong; that we cannot and ought not to conquer. Says President Pierce:—

"My judgment compels me to rely upon moral force, and not upon any of the coercive instrumentalities of military power. We have seen, in the experience of the last two years, how futile are all our efforts to maintain the Union by force of arms; but even had war been carried on by us successfully, the ruinous result would exhibit its utter impracticability for the attainment of the desired end. Through peaceful agencies, and through conciliatory action, can we hope to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and all. I speak of the war as fruitless; for it is clear that, prosecuted upon the basis of the proclamation of September 22d and September 24th, 1862, prosecuted as I must understand those proclamations, to say nothing of the kindred brood which has followed, upon the theory of emancipation, devastation, subjugation, it cannot fail to be fruitless in everything except the harvest of woe which it is now reaping for what was once the perished Republic."

The attempt to shirk the responsibility of opposing the war, by professing to oppose it only as it is conducted on a wrong basis, will not avail the Copperheads. The pretence is too shallow. The basis, and the only basis of war, is the defence of a nation's Government and laws. Emancipation is the law of the land. Confiscation is the law of the land. He that opposes the laws of his country, otherwise than by constitutional changes, is the enemy of his country. The Copperheads seek to subvert the emancipation and confiscation acts, and to change the Constitution into a pro-slavery instrument, by overthrowing the present Government. It is true, they are not personally in arms against the Government, but they give aid and comfort to the men who are in arms against it. They are traitors to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the Constitution. It needs but the occasion to bring them out in open array on the side of the enemy. There were thousands in New-York city, in hotel, street and counting-house, whose countenances on the morning of July Fourth were smiling, joyous, defiant, over our anticipated defeat. The evening found them downcast, the next day still more gloomy, and the fall of Vicksburg completed their humiliation. It was surprising to see how quickly their countenances again brightened on

the first blush of a rumor that our cavalry were repulsed, and Gen. Kilpatrick slain. Such men ought not to be tolerated amongst us. The power which Congress has given the President should not be suffered to remain a dead letter, while these copperhead traitors are watching an opportunity to strike their poisonous fangs into the heart of our republican government. It is false to say, as Gov. Seymour does, that in the trying times of the Revolution, our fathers guaranteed to the tory plotters, in their midst, the same privileges of free speech, free action, inviolate homes, trial by jury, that would have been allowed them in time of peace. A coat of tar and feathers, and an unceremonious expulsion to the enemy's lines, was the very mildest treatment a copperhead might expect in those days. Having no special law upon the subject, the patriots of Seventy-six were a law to themselves; but now, in our more advanced civilization, we wisely entrust these cases of discipline to the President, rather than to local committees. The tar and feathers, and the uncomfortable method of transportation on a rail, we have dispensed with; but we must insist on retaining the main feature of the discipline, which is to remove these dangerous plotters from our midst, as the President has removed Vallandigham, until their opportunity for mischief is past—American Daplat.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

It is to the credit of human nature that great wickedness seems always incredible. The columns of the daily papers have been crowded for six days with the atrocious cruelties and savage excesses of the last week—cruelties and excesses unexampled in the history of riots, with the exception, possibly, of those of the first French Revolution—and yet the people find it hard to believe that these are not gross exaggerations. The Northern American character, modified and enervated by half a century of peace and prosperity, cannot comprehend the bend that low type of the race which has been produced in another country by the combined influence of a faith that first enchains and then darkens the human mind, a tyrannical government, the most abject poverty, and a vicious system of in-and-in-breeding. The result has been a people who are all the brutal passions and instincts of man in the first savage state, with some vague intelligence of the material strength of civilization and power to use it, but without any of the higher intellectual and moral qualities which belong to the age. It is this class, made fat and strong upon American food, and thus under American liberty, that broke all bounds ten days ago, and committed deeds of cruelty over which a Sioux would have screamed with delight. But why they should have broken bounds, why they should have thus suddenly defied the restraints of law at this particular moment, is the question that really needs to be answered, and the answer lies in the solution of which people are even slower to accept than the relations of the shocking inhumanity of the rioters. Nevertheless, the truth must be told fearlessly, and well for the people if they believe it in season.

The riots of last week were not the mere passionate outbreak of a popular discontent, but the first act of an attempted revolution. The rioters themselves have been excited by the Copperhead press and Copperhead speeches, and still more by diligent and numerous emissaries visiting the haunts of vice and discontent, and by that appeal which never fails with the vicious—the hatred of the rich. They only knew that at a certain time they were to rise—it might be on one pretext, it might be on another, but the draft was a convenient one at this moment. It was, of course, impossible for a few individuals to the excess, or to confine the torrent of their passions to a single point, and the result was a general outbreak to create a riot, and to control it afterwards, if possible, into an organized revolution.

We are not, we beg our readers to understand, building up a theory or indulging in conjectures from which to draw plausible deductions. We are dealing in facts. The draft was a pretext for the riot; the riot was the work of the Peace party; a Northern revolution which should overthrow the Government, overawe the North, and compel it to accept such terms of peace from Jeff. Davis as he, under such circumstances, would consent to give us.

Go back to the moment when Lee moved from the Rappahannock. The rebels knew that they would be at Vicksburg and Port Hudson could hold out but a little longer; that Bragg must fall back before Rosecrans, incapable of doing anything better than escape and disperse, if that should be possible; that Charleston would probably be ours on the next day; that the city of New Orleans would be ours; and that all these events accomplished, for which a few weeks only were needed, the Southern rebellion would no longer have an existence, except in Lee's army. Some great, bold stroke alone could save the Confederacy, and if its Northern friends were ever to help it, they must do so now or never. Lee broke camp, marched a hundred and fifty miles northward, and invaded Pennsylvania.

If he had no friends in front of him, and an enemy in his rear, no General ever did a madder thing. The enemy in his rear he despised, and believed he could easily dispose of; and he had friends in front of him, the rebels knew, who would follow him, and step was to dispose of Hooker. But just here the plot halted; he did not dispose of Hooker, but Meade disposed of him. That saved the North.

For had Lee defeated the Army of the Potomac, the next step was to march either upon Philadelphia, Baltimore, or Washington, as might seem best. Riots were to break out over the North, following an example first set in this city; the loyal North was to be held in terror and subjection; Stephens, the rebel Vice-President, was to be in Washington to dictate the terms of peace which Lee's bayonets were to enforce. That New York might be utterly powerless at this juncture, her troops, for the first time in her history, were all sent away—with an alacrity which surprised everybody then, but the motive of which is apparent enough now—on a pretence of repelling invasion. It was to welcome Lee! So complete was this plan, so well matured, and so certain was its success, that the Richmond journals prematurely announced the defeat of the Army of the Potomac; prematurely discussed the terms of peace which the conquerors would condescend to grant the conquered; prematurely announced that while Lee would march victoriously into a northern capital, the Northern people would be held in subjection by numerous armed themselves. And this was to happen on the 4th of July, when this city was checked with posters calling on the citizens to rise in rebellion against the Government, and Gov. Seymour was at the Cooper Institute with perhaps a fitting speech for such an occurrence, which he certainly did not have for the actual occasion. The battle of Gettysburg, discomfiting the rebels, the conspirators, and sent Lee flying back across the Potomac. Then came the news of the fall of Vicksburg. Clearly, the rebellion which was to ride triumphantly into power over the ruins of the Government and the necks of the people, stretching out the hand of fellowship to Northern conspirators who had helped it at the right moment, was not culminating in triumph, but sinking in helplessness and disgrace. Could that which was meant to help it merely save it? A Northern revolution which was to help it to brilliant and final success, must now save it from utter destruction. It was the only hope of Southern rebellion and Northern copperheadism.

Hence the riots were inevitable. Gov. Seymour told the rioters, in a speech on Tuesday last week, from the City Hall steps—when he called these men, the hands of many of whom were red with blood and their arms full of plunder stolen from burning houses, his "noble and brave friends"—that he had sent to Washington on Saturday to procure the stopping of the draft. Why? Clearly because he knew, as hundreds of others not in the plots of the conspirators had been told, the insurrection was to commence on Monday. What did he do? He sent where it would be impossible for him to go, and called upon to interfere till it was under full headway. It was put down in spite of him by Gen. Brown and the police. The real cause of the rioting of Gen. Brown is, that he was determined to suppress the riot by shooting the rioters, while Gov. Seymour and Gen. Sandford and all in their power to prevent it, and it was not till the last stages of the revolt, when the soldiers were fired upon from the houses, that the militia were permitted in self-defence to use ball-cartridge. On Friday, Gov. Seymour forbade that the arms should be taken from the houses of the rioters, where they were found in abundance; on Monday, he orders all loyal citizens to disband their organizations, and return the arms in their hands to the arsenal! Is any man so daft as not to understand?

Great wickedness, as we said at the onset, always seems incredible, and the wickedness of these plots against the Government, the freedom, and the welfare of the people of this country, is far more difficult to believe, because more infamous than the deeds of cruelty of the wretches whom they have hounded on to excess to compass the ends of their own bad ambition. But we cannot escape the evidence of our senses. We may faint with horror, and be agitated with terror, at the recital of the deeds of blood of the Irish gorillas who ravaged the city a week ago. Nevertheless, we must believe them, for the evidence is not to be gainsaid. And the evidence is hardly less positive and patent, that the riot was intended as the beginning of a revolution by the copperhead party in aid of the Southern rebellion; that when it got beyond the control of the conspirators, and into the hands of ruffians, who meant to sack and burn the city, partly from love of plunder and partly from natural depravity, even then it was stopped with reluctance; and that they still hope to hold these elements under control for some future demonstration for the same purpose—the overthrow of the Government and the supremacy of the Southern rebels. The one way to avert this new peril is to recognize it in time, and be prepared for it. When South Carolina went out of the Union, it was laughed at as a joke, and that merry jest has cost us a hundred thousand lives and a hundred millions of money already. That experience should have brought us wisdom enough at least to comprehend a purpose which the conspirators hardly pretend to disguise—to take New York out of the Union, it was laughed at as a joke, and that merry jest has cost us a hundred thousand lives and a hundred millions of money already. That experience should have brought us wisdom enough at least to comprehend a purpose which the conspirators hardly pretend to disguise—to take New York out of the Union, it was laughed at as a joke, and that merry jest has cost us a hundred thousand lives and a hundred millions of money already. That experience should have brought us wisdom enough at least to comprehend a purpose which the conspirators hardly pretend to disguise—to take New York out of the Union, it was laughed at as a joke, and that merry jest has cost us a hundred thousand lives and a hundred millions of money already.

There is no Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1863. FIRST OF AUGUST! Emancipation the only Safe and Just Policy. The 29th Anniversary of West India Emancipation will be celebrated, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at ISLAND GROVE, ABINGTON, on SATURDAY, August 1st, to which all are invited who desire that, hereafter, it may be in our power to celebrate the anniversary of a day which shall see every slave in the United States emancipated, and every root of slavery extirpated from the American soil. Come, all friends of liberty! Aid us in making this the most effective meeting for justice and for our country ever held on Old Colony ground. Let the true word give impulse to the right, just and brave deed; and every heart be nerve fresh with the determination to utterly crush the rebellion of the slaveholders, South and North, and with the rebellion, its origin, support, motive, and end—HUMAN SLAVERY. Among the expected speakers are WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, F. B. SANBORN, THEODORE D. WELD, WM. WELLS BROWN, and others.

An Excursion Train, on the Old Colony Railroad, will leave the Depot, Kneeland Street, Boston, at 9 A. M. on that day. Leave Plymouth at 9:20 A. M. Both trains will stop at usual way stations, and at the Grove.

RETURNING, leave the Grove at 5 P. M. FAIRBANKS, Boston, Savin Hill, Dorchester, Neponset, Quincy and Braintree, to the Grove and back, for adults, 50 cents; children, 25 cents.

Plymouth, Kingston, Plympton, and Halifax, to the Grove and back, half the usual rates. Excursion tickets good on other trains.

In case of rain, the meeting will be held in Abington Town Hall, near the Grove.

By order of the Managers, EDMUND QUINCY, President.

R. F. WALLCUT, Rec. Sec.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST MEETING AT ABINGTON GROVE. We have the pleasure of saying to all, who design being present at this meeting, that there is a prospect that our friends, ASA HUTCHINSON, wife and children, will be present, adding to the interest of the occasion by their cheering songs for Freedom. A large attendance, worthy of the occasion, it is hoped and believed will be present.

MR. HEYWOOD'S ADDRESS. In publishing, at his request, Mr. Heywood's Address on "The War Method of Peace," in the *Liberator* of the 17th inst., we purposely abstained from criticising its statements, deductions and conclusions, on the ground that, in the midst of the earthquake and whirlwind of an unparalleled civil war, we deemed it an inopportune period to agitate the question of Non-Resistance.

Our worthy correspondent, "H. H. B.," dissents from this opinion, and regards this as the very time for such agitation; because, as he says, "the time to rebuke sin is when sin abounds." But we still believe with Solomon, that there is a time to be silent as well as to speak. Good sense as well as moral integrity is to be consulted, in the one case as well as in the other; and we are firm in the conviction already expressed, that this is not the best period for an abstract ethical discussion of the question of Non-Resistance. Especially do we consider it very unfortunate for any one, claiming to be a Non-Resistant, who so enforces the doctrine as to give "aid and comfort" to traitors and their copperhead sympathizers at this particular crisis. That doctrine is as dear to us as ever; and the friendly solicitude of "H. H. B." as to our fidelity and consistency is duly appreciated.

As to the statement alleged by our friend "G. W. S." to have been made by Mr. Heywood, at Milford, that we had so far "fallen from grace" as to declare "that the President was in fault for not hanging Vallandigham," it was left by Mr. H. without explanation, it did us flagrant injustice. That explanation should have been that, arguing within the scope and on the plane of governmental action, Mr. Vallandigham being, in our opinion, a traitor of the most malignant type,—the President, instead of sending him to the rebels, should have had him capitally executed. What this view of the case has to do with our Non-Resistance consistency, we are unable to perceive.

But we stop here—determined not to be dragged into a discussion which we regard as equally untimely and unprofitable.

ANDREW HUGHES AND THE NEW YORK RIOTERS. Referring to the very reprehensible address of Archbishop Hughes to the Irish rioters, whom he requested to assemble in front of his residence, in whose countenances he declared himself unable to perceive that of a single rioter, and to whom he administered flattery instead of reproof, the Boston *Pioneer* makes the following pertinent remarks:—

"Has there any where in modern times a priest exhibited greater insolence than the author of this call, who, in the midst of a raging riot, turns away from his door like an autocrat the civil and military authorities of the land? And in fact, he has, for he has defied the bidding, and at the appointed time there gathered a crowd of 4000 believers—a genuine review of mutineers, whom their spiritual General, to be sure, admonished to restrain themselves, but at the same time washed of all reproach for the outbreak, and, as it were, in some absolved, after they for nearly a whole week had burnt and murdered worse than Cossacks!"

And nobody has thought of blaming the priest, but he is praised as an author of peace! The eyes of Americans will perhaps ere long be opened to the consequences of the tenderness which they have shown, in the name of "religious freedom" and "from party considerations," to the agents of the Romish establishment for the murder of peoples and republics."

COL. HIGGINSON. A letter from an officer in the first South Carolina reg't states that Col. Higginson, injured by the concussion from a shell, is doing well. In the raid he captured 250 contrabands, a lot of cotton, and Lieut. Barnwell, though he was kept from burning the bridge by a field battery. Col. Higginson arrived in Worcester on Monday, direct from his field of service in South Carolina, on a brief furlough.

CONDITIONS OF PEACE.

The set of men among us who are constantly crying "Peace, Peace," when there is no peace, are not less mischievous than those we read of among the ancient Hebrews. In every Northern State and city are men who love slavery and uphold the cause of the slaveholders; and these are ready on all occasions to give their voices for terms of accommodation with the rebels, and for the renewal of that protection which the Federal Government has been accustomed to give to slavery. As the brandy-drinker finds all possible atmospheric conditions—hot and cold, wet and dry—alike specially suitable for recurrence to his favorite indulgence, so these men persist in representing our condition at the present moment, whether it be success or defeat, as eminently opportune for reconciliation and reconstruction.

We therefore, the loyalists, the friends of liberty, of just government and of free institutions, need to keep constantly before our own minds and before the public, that one condition which is the indispensable requisite of permanent peace, and which should be recognized by both people and government as such. Slavery must be abolished, extirpated, in every rebel State, before its admission as a member of our Republic family can be conceded. No one particular of the immensely important transactions of the next ten years is so important as this.

This matter is well stated in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, entitled "Political Problems, and Conditions of Peace." After quoting abundant authority for his doctrine from Wheaton, and Vattel, and Chancellor Kent, the writer says:—

"Our rights as belligerents are ample for our security in time of war. The Rebel States will not come to terms with us until they have been defeated and exhausted and disabled from continuing the struggle. They have invoked the laws of war, and they must abide the decision of the tribunal to which they have appealed. We may hold them as enemies until they submit to such reasonable terms of peace as we may demand. Whether we shall require any indemnity for the vast expenditures and losses to which we have been subjected is a question of great magnitude; but it is of little importance compared with that of guarding against a recurrence of the Rebellion, by removing the cause of it. It would be worse than madness to restore them to all their former rights under the government they have done their utmost to destroy, and at the same time permit them to retain a system that would surely involve us or our children in another struggle of the same kind."

Slavery and freedom cannot permanently coexist under the same government. There is an inevitable, perpetual, irrepressible conflict between them. The present rebellion is but the culmination of this political existing—transferred from social and political life to the camp and the battlefield. In the new arena, we have all the rights of belligerents in an international war. Slavery has taken the sword; let it perish by the sword. If we spare it, its wickedness will be excused by the victors. As slavery is the cause of our right to demand, for our own future peace, as the only terms of restoration, not only the abolition of Slavery in all the Rebel States, but its prohibition in all coming timble States, that, with the terrible lessons of these passing years, we shall be so utterly destitute of wisdom and prudence as to leave our children exposed to the dangers of another rebellion, entailing upon them the vast burdens of this, by our national debt."

This writer, it seems to me, might well have taken the wider ground of demanding an abolition of slavery throughout the country. The most effective way of assailing that villainous system in the rebel States would be first to extirpate it from the States called loyal, and thus make the regions of rebellion and slavery identical in form, as they are in fact. Let us be warned by the error of our fathers against assuming that slavery will dwindle and die of itself in a few years. Let not one particle of a weed so prolific be left with a concession of its right to exist in the soil of the United States of America.—C. K. W.

In the *Tower Hamlets Express* of June 20th is given an interesting account of some festivities at Bromley, to welcome Rev. J. Sella Martin, who has recently accepted a call to the pastorate of the Free Christian Church at that place. The attendance was large, and the meeting enthusiastic. Rev. W. H. Bonner, Herbert Thompson, Esq., and many other clergymen and gentlemen were present, and the interest of the meeting was enhanced by the presence of Mrs. Ellen Craft and her two youthful sons. Mr. William Craft is now absent on an important mission to the King of Dahomey.—C. K. W.

NEW MUSIC. We are indebted to Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washington Street, Boston, for the following pieces just published by that firm:—

Children's Taps. A set of twelve easy, melodious and instructive pieces for the piano, by A. Baumbach. Golden State Treble, from the Piano Forte Album, a selection of brilliant and fascinating gems by eminent composers.

Ballad from the *Armorer of Nantes*, grand romantic opera by M. W. Balfe.

Forward Forever. Song by Ferdinand Gumbert. The *Miseries of Smezzing*. Words and Music by Ossian E. Dodge.

I'm Coming Home to Die. By the same author.

THE CONTINENTAL, for August, has been received by A. Williams & Co. It contains its usual variety of interesting articles, of which the most prominent is one by Robert J. Walker, written from London, on "Jefferson Davis and Repudiation." Mr. Walker fixes on Davis the stigma of Mississippi repudiation, in an elaborate argument, supported by abundant facts. In this case, the accuser speaks of matters about which he is necessarily familiar. He closes with the remark: "As Jefferson Davis is now at the head of a slaveholding conspiracy, endeavoring to destroy the government of my country, and is now also engaged in selling worthless Confederate bonds in this market, I have deemed it my duty to make this publication." The following is the table of contents:—1. Our Future. By Lieut. Egbert Phelps, U. S. A. 2. Autumn Leaves. By Mrs. M. W. Cook. 3. Across Maine in Mid-Winter. 4. Diary of Frances Krausska. 5. The Sleeping Peri. 6. My Lost Darling. 7. Reason, Rhythm, and Rhyme. Compiled and written by Mrs. M. W. Cook. 8. The Buccaneers of America. By W. L. Stone. 9. Under the Palmetto. By H. G. Spaulding. 10. The Spirit's Reproach. By Mrs. M. W. Cook. 11. Jefferson Davis and Repudiation. A Letter from Hon. Robert J. Walker. 12. Evergreen Beauty. By Major Samuel H. Hurst. 13. Dying in the Hospital. By Mary E. Neely, Louisville, Ky. Literary Notices. Editor's Table.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for August, is received, with the following varied and attractive table of contents:—1. An American in the House of Lords. By Francis Wayland, Jr. 2. Theodore Winthrop's Writings. By Charles Nordhoff. 3. Hilary. By Lucy Larcom. 4. Derby's Doubt. By Louisa M. Alcott. 5. Wet Weather Work. By Donald G. Mitchell. 6. Civic Banquets. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. 7. The Geological Middle Ages. By Louis Agassiz. 8. The White-Throated Sparrow. 9. Fleur-de-lis in Florida. By Francis Parkman. 10. Scaward. 11. Side Glances at Harvard Class Day. By Gail Hamilton. 12. Love's Challenge. By T. W. Parsons. 13. Political Problems and Conditions of Peace. By Judge Woodbury Davis. Reviews and Literary Notices. Ticknor & Fields, Publishers.

HARTER'S MONTHLY, for August, 1863, contains the following table of contents:—1. Scenes in the War of 1812—1813. Harrison and Perry. 2. An American Family in Germany. 3. Eulalie. 4. Cemetery. 5. The Battle and Triumph of Dr. Susan—Part I. 6. Sir Guy of Brittany. 7. My Heart and I. 8. Roma. 9. The Small House at Allington. 10. Making a Will. 11. Our Contraband. 12. Artist-Philosopher—Lover. Monthly Record of Current News, &c. &c. A. Williams & Co., 100 Washington Street.

The New York merchants and other benevolent persons have already generously contributed thirty thousand dollars in aid of the colored victims of the riots in that city.

LETTER.

DEAR SIR—You ask me how we, who have hitherto been disunionists, now join in supporting the Union. I answer:—

We refused to take office and swear to support the Constitution because we could not promise to do what we thought sin—return slaves to their masters, for instance, as required by the Constitution.

Further than that, our effort to break the Union was only a means to an end. Our object was the abolition of slavery.

No man can foresee the future, or certainly tell even the immediate, much less the final, results of any measure. We must act on probabilities, and use those right means within our reach which seem most likely to end an evil perfectly, in the shortest time, and with the least harm. On this principle, in the old times of peace, we labored to break the Union as the best and quickest way to end slavery.

Let me remind you that we never undervalued Union—never had any objection to Union—but only to a Union on pro-slavery conditions, one that supported and strengthened slavery.

The disunion we sought was one which should be begun by the North on principle, from conscientious objection to upholding slavery. Such a disunion of the Union would have given us a Nation in the North, united on high principle, able to defend itself, rigid against granting any pro-slavery advantage to its Southern neighbor; and the vicinity and example of such a North would have cooperated with the essential weakness of all slaveholding governments in finally abolishing slavery at the South. Such disunion must have been brought about by a public opinion throughout the North adverse to slavery, and would have guaranteed one for the future. The agitation for such disunion, based on the idea that slavery is a sin, to be immediately repudiated at every cost, was the most direct and efficient way of educating the public to a stern anti-slavery principle. You see, therefore, that the abolition of slavery was our object, disunion our weapon—and our method of reaching it was to convert the Nation, and create a strong anti-slavery public opinion.

We sought such disunion for the slave's sake, well knowing, all the time, how much of what his lot had fairly earned disunion would sacrifice, but convinced that, as things then stood, it was the quickest and shortest way to free him. We knew also that our plan would leave the slave to struggle up to freedom against a thousand obstacles, alone and unaided, taxed and hampered by a reluctant master; but that disadvantage was inevitable, and seemed no sufficient reason why we should forego the only method which promised him any speedy and certain relief.

We held that, for such reasons—the rights of the slave and the sin (for anti-slavery men) of upholding the Constitution—the North had the right of revolution—the right to break the Union; and that such disunion would sooner end slavery than continuing under a Constitution which forbade the North, during peace, to interfere with the slave system of the Southern States.

War came. The South began a war on the Nation. To accept disunion then, one not begun by an anti-slavery North, but forced on a reluctant and half-converted North, though it would have killed slavery in the end, would have lost the slave his share in the Nation he helped to found, and would have left the slave, obstructed in his path to freedom by great obstacles, unaided, unaided, vexed and hampered by an embittered master. Such disunion, too, would probably have helped to prolong slavery, seeing that such a North would have been willing to grant its pro-slavery neighbor many advantages, the re-capture of slaves, &c.—and the conflict of two such nationalities would have entailed perpetual war.

On the contrary, the first gun the South fired gave the Nation the constitutional right to abolish slavery wherever its flag floats, showed that such a measure would inevitably be necessary, and that the Union must probably cease, or rest on the equal liberty of all races.

In these circumstances, the Abolitionists, who were not peace men, and had never asserted the sinfulness of war, perceived that the war itself would produce an overwhelming national opinion adverse to slavery sooner than any other agency. The manifestation of war must make of the nature and designs of the Slave Power would inevitably make every Unionist an Abolitionist.

The need of the negro in the conflict would destroy prejudice against color more speedily than any other means could, and his presence in the army would be the first step to civil equality.

We saw that the preservation of the Union would efficiently protect the negro in his transition to perfect freedom, and that the Nation he helped to create owed him this aid, which is of vast importance.

As things stood, therefore, since the war—

1st. The Union means liberty, and to save itself must free the blacks. To uphold it in this struggle for existence, is the readiest way to convert the nation into Abolitionists. One year of such war is worth, for this purpose, twenty years of peaceful agitation.

2d. The Union protects the slave in his transition to liberty, and makes that passage speedy and easy.

3d. It saves him and ourselves all the benefits of a Nationality which his toil and ours has earned in three generations.

4th. It ensures peace throughout North America.

At the present time, therefore, the preservation of the Union gives us all these benefits we have aimed at, and some we never expected to secure by our old plan.

Perhaps all these benefits might have been gained better and cheaper in other ways. But God disposes, the choice is not left with us; we must enter at the door he opens. We had hoped that it would be, and labored that it should be, one of peace; but to him it has seemed otherwise, and we submit.

We can easily see that war may, perhaps, be the only path to emancipation for a century to come. Peace, on which we had counted, has one danger. The constant sight of successful inquiry is as likely to dull the conscience as to awaken it. We could not be certain that, in the struggle between right and interest, the triumph might not be, for a long while, on the wrong side. No one could be sure that our Union, spite of the anti-slavery enterprise, would not have sunk, for many years, into a strong, corrupt, pro-slavery nation, greedy of territory, callous to right, and trampling a victim race under its money-seeking feet. The sharp sword of war kills or cures at once; and as God has linked success with justice, we must either be whipped into a people hating slavery as their conqueror, or we must be successful with justice for our ally—the negro our acknowledged equal and brother.

We see, nevertheless, the use of our Disunion Agitation. If we did not fully convert the community by our cry, "Liberty and justice are better than Union," we so far leavened their minds and awakened their consciences that when the war came, the hour found them ready to accept the issue. When the question was put,—the old Union with slavery, or a new one without it,—the people have been found far more ready than any man had supposed to answer, Give us, at any cost, Union and freedom, pledge of peace and permanence.

In a word, the slave's cause led us to disunion, when disunion seemed the only way within our reach to free him. Now we cling to the Union for the same reason. We can uphold it without disunion—and it has become the strongest weapon in the slave's behalf—the shortest path to his liberty.

The terms of the Constitution may still, for awhile, shut us out of office; but that is temporary. The spirit of the Union is liberty to all races and every individual. Without that, it must die.

